THE BUDGET and THE BOMB

H BOMB • MASS LOBBY

Tuesday, 20th May 5—10 pm
Details from
16 St Marks Crescent, London, NW1

But the Budget rules our lives. Are we to get arms or education, roads or unemployment? The Budget decides these. Is it to be money for hydrogen bombs or for healthy babies? This the

AFTER ALDERMaston

Those of us who marched to Aldermaston—slogged more than 50 miles—we marched into a corner of history.

But more is needed.
We need the whole floor.
We need to stop the drive to suicide, to wrest the power from the hands of nuclear maniacs, to veto their actions where we can.

Our next step must be to

STOP WORK ON ROCKET BASES
STOP WORK ON H-BOMBS

The Busmen prepare to fight

LONDON'S BUSMEN must be left to ward off the Tory attack single-handed.

The Tories are working for a showdown. They have offered under two-thirds of the men a miserable, insulting 8/6d., and nothing to the rest, although it would need a full 9/- to cover the rise in prices since the last award. They have tried to use their offer to split Central London busmen from their country service and provincial brothers. They have used every trick in the book to delay, tire and confuse the transport workers. And now they want the final showdown.

This they are going to get. The delegate conference has met the challenge. They have decided on strike action. Notice of intention has been served. Three weeks from now will witness the most important struggle against the bosses and their government since the war.

No distortion and propaganda must be allowed to obscure the issue. The busmen's fight is our fight. Every help must be given, no strain of solidarity shirked. A defeat for the busmen will be a defeat for workers throughout Britain.

Psychological warfare has already begun. Sir John Elliott, Chairman of the LTE started the campaign of blackmail in a speech to the London Rotary Club when he said:

A large proportion of the traffic lost from a strike is never recovered. At the end, when the buses start to run again, there will be less work for fewer busmen.

Let the socialist in the trade union branch sort out his local bus garage and get his branch to send the busmen a message of support. Let the local trades councils invite the busmen to send representatives to give the facts and counter the lies that will be spread by press and radio as the dispute develops. Let the tubemen and railwaymen show what solidarity action can do in breaking the Tory offensive. All power to the busmen's elbow.
TU COMMENTARY

Levies's

The strike at Levines, Master Vending Co, Cricklewood, has been mentioned in this column and in articles in previous issues of the magazine. The final report, from the Chancery Department of the Committee, features on this page, shows that the strike is finished, unfortunately, not long after it began. The workers, who are predominantly female, had normally been expected to finish the job by the end of the week, but it now seems that they will finish it a little later. The strike is expected to be over by the end of the month, but it is not clear whether the company will be able to find a replacement for the workers who have left.

40-hour week

At its quarterly meeting of the North London Engineering and Shipbuilding Shop-Stewards, the Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO has decided to give full support to the 40-hour week campaign of the AFL-CIO. The committee has decided to support the campaign, and has agreed to fund the campaign.

Escape in double dues

Now may I say at once that I do not regard this as JOINING YOU OR YOUR UNION. It may be that your appropriate union (like mine) is not affiliated to the TUC or the Labour Party. And I think there's something to be said for employment in one of the general unions in order to secure industrial voting rights at a Trades Council or similar body. But let me make it clear that the workers in the AFL-CIO should consider this a substitute for membership of your appropriate social democratic party. You are sufficiently wealthy to be able to afford double subscription. And such double membership cannot be cheap.

STRIKE IN NORTH LONDON—post mortem

After seven weeks of strike the workers fighting for trade-union recognition at Levine's Master Vending Co, Cricklewood, decided to review their overall position.

The Executive Committee of the AFL-CIO had not supported the strike. Letters sent to the EC from the North London District Committee and various branches asking why have not, even now, been answered.

Without the support of the EC an effective blacking of labour and goods in such a small factory would have been impossible, likewise with road transport and docks.

Levine managed to recruit sufficient labour, skilled and semi-skilled, to get back into a large degree of production again; but he still need a certain number of the workers who were difficult to replace.

To get them he had to offer:

(a) Trade union recognition;
(b) The promise that two original sacked delegates (the action which triggered off the strike); and
(c) The strikers would be allowed to return in small groups over a period of 8 weeks.

A full meeting of the strikers decided that to trust Levine over the next 8 weeks would be as stupid as their trust in him during the previous seven.

They concluded that the end of the strike and all strikers would seek employment elsewhere.

The request was made to the District Committee for the AFL-CIO to black Master Vending labour and goods.

A tremendous applause greeted the motion of thanks to the District Committee, organizers Brookes and McLaughlin, stewards, shop stewards, sheet metal—Russell, boiler makers: the Handley Page stewards and workers, and all the other factories and branches who had helped in their bitter 7 weeks (supported) struggle for trade union recognition.

P. O. CONROY
Strike Committee Chairman
These pages have been set aside for a socialist review of the industrial struggle. Help to make them complete by sending in your news and comments.

GLASGOW TC
A report from Hugh Savage

The British labour movement is today and for many years has been working in a narrow circle of strikes for higher wages and shorter hours without finding a solution; besides, these strikes are looked on not as an expendable not as a means of propaganda and organization but as an ultimate aim.

Engels, in a letter to E. Berstein, June 17, 1887

THIS QUOTATION could fit the present situation in which world capitalism and particularly British capitalism might well be entering its final phase. The outback. In this period of pending crisis what kind of leadership is being displayed and what kind of role is the Glasgow trades council playing today?

Glasgow’s forum

It is true to say that it is the most representative public organization in Glasgow having an affiliated membership of 83,893. However party politics will keep it evenly divided that unless the Labour Party or Communist Party support your point of view and win the trades councils for industrial action.

At no time has the movement been so tied and throttled by constitutional control than it is at the present time. Just as the TUC has eliminated the power and authority of trades councils in the rank and file, so more shadow of their former glory, so in Scotland the Scottish TUC is maintaining the grip until the trades councils have become more or less its rubber stamp.

Revolutionary policy

Under these conditions the prospect of rank and file action is very difficult to imagine, nevertheless it must be fought for, even if not an accident that this control from above developed. Without it the possibility of the TUC would not survive a day. Their whole function is to hold back any movement of the working class struggle and preach class collaboration in statesmanlike speeches. They also can be depended upon to come to the rescue of the capitalist class in a period of crisis and save or attempt to save the system from destruction. No wonder they have been referred to as the “lieutenants of capitalism”.

Lascelles once said when talking about a so-called progressive party of his period containing trade unions of a similar type to our own home brand: “Its principal basic rule is anything but revolution from below, better despotism from above.”

Against this background can there be any blueprint or plan that can guarantee a speedy and permanent emancipation for the British working class? Yes, by fighting at all times for a revolutionary policy based on the class struggle we can yet make progress for the working class for the big battles that lie ahead.

The SWF?

In the Socialist Workers’ Federation we are prepared to cooperate with all socialists who are fighting to save the movement from reformism, and while we cannot claim any outstanding victories we feel our consistent revolutionary propaganda will reap the same fruits as the days that lie ahead and will help to bring together all those forces that are prepared to fight in a revolutionist manner for the achievement of working class power.

NEXT ISSUE

Algerian Revolution – 2

Current Conflicts
LP COMMENTARY

• After Torrington

The most disturbing aspect of Liberal results has been the support success they are having with the young. Youth, of course, has been mentioned before as being key to the Establishment; this urge accounted for no small part of the Liberal gain in Torrington young after 1945. But one might have expected that same urge now to bring an influx of young people into the Party. But if this has not done so, I suggest, is the greatest indictment of right-wing politics.

It is not true to say, however, that no young people come into the Party. Plenty come into it, but seldom sufficient at any one time to sustain themselves in the traditional conflict between youth and ‘wisdom.’ With the result that the old gang up on the few young and either drive them out or destroy their idealism and enthusiasm until they are transformed into something rather unpleasant—the cynically old-young.

This conflict between age groups has become so acute at the present time in the Labour Party than I have ever known it at any time in any organisation. Many young people now fear that the London House of Labour, on which young people place in the same story the merciless nagging persecution of the right-wing press, as a jumble-sale of jumble-sale queens augmented in some constituencies by a poached trade union organizers.

I was a visitor the other evening at a meeting where this sort of thing was going on and one had to sit silent (regretfully) while charges of Communism was about with careless abandon against a group of young people who wanted to organise a campaign against the H-Bomb. The fact that the Communist Party is currently opposing the campaign makes no difference, indeed the only known Stalinist in this particular Party was one of the ring leaders of this campaign.

The tragedy is that Labour Party Organizers listen to this sort of rot (Alice Bacon’s travelling tribunal expelled people on the basis of such ill-founded rumours). And in this connection, I was glad to see a recent Libel action result in the charge of communism being held to be defamatory and the plaintiff being awarded £1,200. This precedent might well stop those squalid embezzled people who for reasons of spite falsely accuse good comrades of being CPers.

The law is not, however, the answer to our predicament. The Labour Party itself must take action to attract the young. The Party will be dead in five years. Of course, when you have young people in an organization, things will not be so easy going for the machine. There will be lots of resolutions, lots of rows, and they will want to go a lot faster than, maybe, is prudent. But this will be alive, and we will go to ward and gmc meetings to make history instead of listening to a lot of old people recalling it.

AN H-BOMB CAMPAIGNER’S DIARY

THE GROWING RESENTMENT against the Hydrogen Bomb and war preparations in general is evident in numerous Labour Parties throughout Essex.

One of the main planks in the County Campaign is to attract young people to the Labour Party’s opposition to the building of rocket bases within the area should that be scheduled. The fact that this is included, of course, is that the County Planning Committee has no statutory power to interfere in such matters, is a measure of the strong feeling which prevails.

Many candidates in the election must be considering ways and means of making their opposition felt should the Government attempt to establish such a site.

Some Councillors on lower-tier local authorities have taken up a stand against Civil Defence within their area. This opposition to the building of rocket bases within the area should that be scheduled. The fact that this is included, of course, is that the County Planning Committee has no statutory power to interfere in such matters, is a measure of the strong feeling which prevails.

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Two Councillors were sufficiently bold to demand that the Committee should end its farce and ban Civil Defence completely.

Essex responds

THAT DEMAND that Civil Defence activities should be banned is known to have been discussed in several Essex Labour Parties and it is understood that the decision is to be raised both at the Essex Federation of Labour Parties and at the Eastern Regional Council later on this year.

The wave of opposition to H-Bomb preparations is thus spreading and deepening in this area.

But not the LP leaders

SO THE NEC decided on a demonstration in Trafalgar Square after the Aldermaston march.

The NEC has been bewildered by the way in which it has been bypassed by the strong feeling generated through the Labour Movement. Consequently it is making a bold attempt to head off the lead achieved by the organizations organizing the tremendous movement against the Bomb and to divert feeling into more ‘responsible’ channels.

The whole burden of the NEC Campaign must therefore be one of damping down present demands for unilateral renunciation of the Bomb. It is the NEC campaign designed to convert H-bomb supporters to the idea of unilateral suspension of tests but one to convince them to oppose components to accept the idea of British manufacture and possession.

This was brought out clearly at the West Midlands Conference held on the 29th March. Hugh Gaitskell and Robert Willis spent the whole of their time trying to demonstrate that Britain should retain the Bomb.

Such a policy is calculated only to spread disillusionment and cynicism among the rank and file of the Movement. Having refrained from opening any campaign until 6 months after the Brighton Conference—only when it became clear that there would be a large scale unofficial movement—the Party leaders clearly showing their genuine anxiety on this and similar questions.

They want Britain to keep the H-bomb and to make no fundamental change in the disastrous policy pursued by the Labour Government in this situation in which whole nations, including our own, are in the danger of extinction.

Next step

THE CENTRAL THEME in this great wave of protest is, of course, the Aldermaston March. Well, now the heart of the Labour movement as has this magnificent demonstration.

Now it is clear that the mood is there, we must prepare to make the next step in the campaign.

Everywhere Trade Unions must work for the acceptance of the national industrial action. Our program now must be BLACK THE BOMB BLACK THE BASES

STAN NEWENS

• Co-op Conference

The FIRST of the big conferences of the year is the Co-operative Party’s and an interesting affair it is generally true that this is because quite often the Executive is defeated, and while I do not wish to give the impression that I am opposing the Executive, our reality does appears from a conference when it is virtually impossible to defeat the Co-operative Executive, as has been the case with the Labour Party since the war.

One of the most important things considered by this year’s Conference was the policy statement “Care of the Aged.” I commend this statement which costs nine-pence to all readers for it is emotionally unbelievable, and its arguments are clear and devoid of technical jargon.

I have not got the space to summarize its proposals but among them is the excellent suggestion that the responsibility for the aged should be concentrated in the hands of county councils and county borough councils. I believe that a local delegate to local councils such part of those responsibilities as concerns those people living in their own homes.

This suggestion I can endorse from my own personal experience in these matters gained when I was a member of a county health committee.

For at present many elderly people are waiting for relatively long periods in hospital, and its patronage of all the arts has done much to bring a greater awareness of the importance of a drama and a symphony than contemporary urban life.

But its members tend to think of themselves as “arty” people. I think of them as seemingly like about things like the H-bomb, the Rent Act, not to mention Woodrow Wilson.

The first step of the Establishment is to be brought to bear on them. My advice to Transport House is leave them alone even if I seriously believe they are irresponsible and extremist. For they have the kind of energy and soul that can breathe a little life back into our over-machined Party.
YOUTHProblems and Policies
YS Report from Shorteruc and Finsbury day-school

COMRADES FROM A DOZEN SECTIONS AROUND LONDON attended a day-school held by Shorteruc and Finsbury Labour Party Youth Section on Saturday 7th March and made it a major success. The subject was ‘Youth’; the first session was spent in examining the basic problems, the second in discussing solutions.

In the morning Michael Kidson, of Socialist Review, presented the situation of youth in industry: although much is made by the figures of the capitalist class, such as the Economist, of the improvement in the standard of living of Britain’s young workers since the war, we should first take a look at the position in those pre-war years.

Not a very pretty sight. Young textile workers being paid 25 shillings a week, young miners just had a penny a shift. And, by the time they reached the age of 17 or 18, young workers were soon faced with unemployment — younger labour was cheaper. Of the 800,000 young people who tried to escape from these grim conditions between 1925 and 1934 by joining the army, 60 percent were rejected on medical grounds.

So today, we’ve never had it so good. But not because of some change of heart from the bosses — simply because of the short duration of the low birth-rate during the war. Also the breakdown of traditional forms of industrial processes has considerably broken down the differences between unskilled and skilled jobs, so that many young workers are now classed as semi-skilled.

Education

Nevertheless, there are big problems to face. Of the 4,400 young workers stop at 15; only 5 percent go to technical schools and only 3 to 4 percent were found to be attending evening classes at the age of 20 in a recent survey. The transition from school to factory life is hardly thought out, while there is usually little coordination between the young workers’ job and the course of part-time study they may be doing at the same time.

Skills are difficult to obtain against the forceful appeal of the fat wage-packet from dead-end jobs, and inadequate training facilities; employers tend to rely on each other to provide them. A Glasgow survey showed that 50 percent of apprentices at 17 were not working in skilled jobs at the age of 20 and this was partly due to National Service.

Frustration and ‘crime’

Education in capitalist society is seen merely as a training for work, and where work is unsatisfactory and takes up most of the workers’ time, there is no possibility for cultural expression or participation for young people, and delinquency and dissatisfaction result.

Faced with the Tory policy of wage-freeze and the prospect of unemployment, the next couple of years are likely to see a harrowing of the class struggle, with big industrial battles. And young workers will be in the front line. With the number of school leavers 50 percent greater in 1962 than in 1959, a desperate demand for juvenile labour from the widespread introduction of mass production in the modern capitalist system, young people see life in a more generalized yet clear-cut way than their elders.

A program

What sort of program?

A socialist program would be:

1. Free state education to 18
2. Comprehensive schooling with adequate maintenance grants
3. Continuing education after bosses’ time (no night school)
4. Free time for cultural activity
5. Higher wages — a man’s pay for a man’s work for workers
6. Full apprenticeship training under fully paid instructors
7. Apprenticeship to the Shop Stewards Committee or trade union with no private indemnity for employers
8. The vote at 18
9. No conscription

National youth section

How do we get it?

In the second session of the School, Robin Fier, Youth Organizer of the Uxbridge Constituency Labour Party suggested the kind of organization that we need:

The old League of Youth had shown fatal flaws; a 40-hour week before the NEC administered the final back-stabs. Firstly, it was as narrowly based, purely on the local parties. As a result it was too specialized. Young workers and students were not represented in an organized way. Secondly, it was not well organized. Young workers and students were not represented in an organized way.

The Labour Party’s Youth Rally has now been fixed for June 28th at the Co-op Sports Ground, Abbey Wood, Woolwich. The Rally will combine both the political and social aspects of Youth Section activity; the Secretary puts it, two of our leaders — Michael Kidson and Mr Tom Driberg — will be there to speak — a wonderful attraction. But the Rally will provide an opportunity for young socialists to get together.

AND FINALLY, WE ARE PLEASED TO PRINT THE FOLLOWING VITTORIO RONCORONI, who may be of interest to active Section members:

Stan Newens, the Epping Constituency Youth Section Secretary, states that Youth Sections should be formed in various parts of the rather wide- spread constituency. After preliminary assistance from local members, people who were interested formed a Youth Section in Chigwell, which had for several years lacked any Socialist Youth Movement. That was in November 1957. Since then the Section has grown to its present membership of about 40; members were canvassed from families who belonged to the local party, and they in turn brought their friends into the movement. A balanced program of political and social activities is planned, three meetings in advance by the members themselves, and includes talks by local Party members, MEP, NEC speakers, together with jazz and record sessions, theatre visits, etc. Socialists have proved popular and a good source of income. The Section members try to attend as many Labour Party activities as possible outside the Youth Section; two delegations attended the recent week-end school at Debdene House, Loughton, and proved for themselves that politics can be fun. A Socialist Party school has also been held in the Eastern Region finals of the National Youth Speaking Contest at Hildre. The Youth Section members have also offered their enthusiasm and experience in the Borough and County elections.
ON MARCH 14 the Daily Mirror opened its campaign, not for direct action against the Bomb, but as its hysterical headlines would lead you to believe, but for the Bomber. The British working class must demand the suspension of tests and the building of the Bomb. It is a good will for the success of the Summit talks and also so that we can find out if the bomb is safe. If the Summit wants it, we shall eventually be murdered and poisoned.

On May 24, I believe that the students at Oxford are representative of British youth; he does not realize that their majority opinion to pin their hopes on the Summit is essentially a non-progressive one. He praises these individuals for truly serving king and country.

JAZZ • Dave Brubeck

Dave Brubeck is a nice guy. This has been said times without number about the man whose music we have been listening to. I wonder whether he means it.

Back in the old days of Brubeck’s experience in New York, there was a tremendous originality in everything he played. This, though, by no means always allowed to be gracefully catchy. The rhythm of the music was quite as often a part of the appeal as the melodies. It had to suffer materially during this period and it was difficult not to admire him for his devotion to the music he believed in.

Now, Brubeck has a fine house, a fine family, and a very comfortable future guaranteed by colossal sales of records. In consequence, I think his contribution to the music of today is a legitimate thing. In the jazz scene there has suffered an extensive decline. There are, however, the new artists who are making their way into the business. By the Quartet, Brubeck’s reliability is receiving a further blow. It is a very humdrum, inconspicuous, ‘quotations’ inserted in improvised passages, to the detriment of all the things he has fought for. Quite apart from being a sad sight for jazz lovers is an indication of how his move up the social scale has caused him to lose his inspiration and desire to progress. Looking at popular music as whole, we are in danger of skillful music. There is a real decline in the power of this kind of music. Many music lovers from it which it seems to originate. To do this, Brubeck is losing the body movement of an ensemble which is accompanied by his style of improvised music. To the desire of a subject people to be from the music. Our social, no, oh, the very opposite.

LETTERS

I was glad to read in the “Young Socialist” of March 15 the headline “Rebel for a Cause.” The writer has put his finger on a problem which is not only immediate but also one of the most serious that young people today have to face. How are we going to change the world in which these millions are living, to change the world of our lives, but that society in every way frustrates and perverts these energies.

I say that young people are interested only in Rock & Roll. We know that they are more interested in the revolution. I have heard them sing, in complexion and its future, in song and in imagination. But, they can see no way in which they think. Brubeck is losing the body movement of an ensemble which is accompanied by his style of improvised music. To the desire of a subject people to be from the music. Our social, no, oh, the very opposite.

This is our task in the Youth Section of the Labour Party. We must show them the different direction for their energy, where to put their power. We must offer them a program of demands and afford of their conditions and trends on us to press demands.

The paper has been to produce such a program and the Young Socialist can help to make the world.

DISCUSSION

To clear our ideas is essential. The main issue is that we must present this issue in an easy and give a lead. Our job is to show young people that there is that in their hands and where they are needed. A Socialistic analysis of society, and a program to make action possible within political and industrial fields, for the coming critical years—are these what we must offer young people.

Beryl Deane

Liverpool

Rally!

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35b Priory Terrace, London, NW4
With the exception of Guy Molot, everybody now admits that a consistent socialist position involves full support of the struggles of colonized peoples for their national liberation. But, when these struggles are led by the native bourgeoisie of the territory invaded.

There can be several reasons for this position: because the foreign imperialism is the most powerful class and the main enemy at that given moment; because the foreign imperialism is an obstacle to the economic development of the territory and because the working-class is in no position to take independent action if this development does not take place; because the oppressed people feels its oppression most vividly as a form of cultural alienation, and that the first step for its social emancipation is the assertion of its national identity. Until this national consciousness is achieved, the class struggle remains obscured for a class-consciousness to emerge, the national issue must be settled.

The common consideration in all these countries is that the working-class is not strong enough, or not developed enough to lead the struggle to a socialist basis. For this reason, socialists that take their socialism seriously have supported the struggle for independence in India, in Ghana, in Tunisia, in Morocco and in other countries where its social content was not stronger than an assertion of the native bourgeoisie against foreign imperialism, and its struggles and movements have remained to this day under the leadership of this bourgeoisie.

The important thing to realize about Algeria is that this familiar situation does not really exist there: the struggle for national liberation does not have to depend on bourgeois leaders, and, to a very large extent, the class issues were clear from the beginning. The difference arises from the extreme weakness of the native bourgeoisie.

In Morocco and Tunisia, French rule was mostly exercised through the intermediary of a native ruling class; the military conquest of Algeria on the other hand, more or less completely smashed the social structure of the country, reduced the bulk of the population to the status of landless agricultural labourers and replaced the native ruling class with a foreign ruling class of settlers and capitalists.

A nation-class

Because the national issue and the class issue could be identified to a much greater extent in Algeria than in other colonial countries, the Algerian nationalist movement was not only the earliest to appear in North Africa (1926), but, from the outset, a basically proletarian movement, successively named INNA, PPA and M.T.L.D. Its founding group was composed of former communist workers, trained and led by Messali Hadj, himself a former auto-worker at Renault. Its program was socialist and called for the nationalization of banking and of such industry as there was, and, most important, for a radical agrarian reform. Its followers were the Algerian industrial workers in France, and, very soon, the landless proletariat in Algeria.

A bourgeois nationalist movement did not really appear in Algeria until 1945, when Ferhat Abbas' UMDA appeared on the scene with a program of federal integration into the French republic. In proportion to the weakness of the Algerian bourgeoisie, it remained small, cowardly and ineptual.

Origin of organizations

What is the origin of the M.T.L.D. and of the FLN? They both have been created as a result of an internal crisis in the M.T.L.D. After 1950, the combination of police repression and the government's sabotage of its own legislation placed the Algerian National Movement in a position where an armed showdown with the government had become inevitable.

In this situation, a group developed in the M.T.L.D. which shrunk from the consequences of this course and instead advocated a collaboration with the liberal "Neo-colonialist" wing of the French bourgeois represented in Algeria by Jacques Chevalier, mayor of Algiers. The fight against this group was opened in 1955 by Messali who, on the contrary, a revolutionary course leading to an armed struggle such as was taking place at the time in Tunisia and Morocco. Throughout that year, the FLN and the M.T.L.D. were in a desperate struggle for survival. The leadership of the FLN was a new group of activists, and had the support of the Central Committee of the FLN (hence the faction's name: "centralists").

The real heirs

The conflict within the M.T.L.D. was resolved at the Congress of Houari (Belgium) in July 1954, when the "centralists" were expelled by a vote of (approximately) 750 against 100, with 50 abstentions. There was absolutely no question at the time, in any sector of public opinion, that the "centralists" represented a small minority of intellectuals and professional people, while the "messalists" had carried practically the whole rank-and-file. By July 1955, just before joining the leadership of the FLN, the "centralists" had shrunk to a handful of politicians based only on the M.T.L.D.'s treasury, which they had appropriated, and publicly admitted that they did no longer know what they represented, if anything. The "messalist" M.T.L.D., having shown its robust wing, proceeded to prepare armed insurrection.

What, then, was the Revolutionary Committee of Unity of Action (CREA), and why did the M.T.L.D. not actually initiate the insurrection?

Since 1950, a number of leaders of the M.T.L.D. (Ben Bella, Khider) were residing in Cairo, where they had become much impressed by Nasser's regime and had adopted his policies. They had maintained contacts with a group of underground cadres of the M.T.L.D. in Algeria who, being cut off from open political life, had been unable to follow the issues in the fight between "messalists" and "centralists". In the illicit cadres were only aware that the party was not making any headway (paralyzed as it was by the "centralist" politicians in Algiers) and decided to push for direct action. At no time did they represent a serious political tendency, nor did they view themselves as a permanent grouping.

In fact, the bulk of the CREI represented in the Algerian illegality the same aspirations and practices of the "messalists" represented in open political life. This became clear at the outbreak of the insurrection when some members thought they were rising in the "name of Messali" and soon after, the "messalists" (among others, the partisan leader Geffaal, who was captured by the French and executed by the French, and Ben Bouali, who spectacularly escaped from the Constantine prison only to be assassitated by the French)
Algiers-cpt
underground. As to the "mes-
salists," they joined the rebellion
within the first week.

Would they attempt to initiate the November uprising? Because they were preparing the uprising for December, the officials in the Cairo group, knowing this and hoping to take control of the coming struggle and anticipate the opposition, decided to call off the uprising on November 1, 1954. Actually, the operation did not succeed in gathering a set off people without any real political basis became a revolu-
tion through the interven-
tion of the "messalists." "

Who regroups
The MTDL had been declared illegal by the French government the day after the insurrection; it went underground in Cairo and took the name of MNAH, which it had used before on various occasions since 1935. The "messalists" did not have to "regroup": they were the MTDL. As to the FNL, it did not yet exist.

A "New Libyan Liberation Front" was formed in Cairo, which included representatives of all the waving, the IRA, the Cairo group
and the MNAH. The latter was re-
presented by Ahmed Mezenna, a French-trained worker and direc-
tory of the MTDL, and Chadli Melekki. When the "messalist" representatives refused to go along with the policies of the Egyptian government, which was attempting to take control of the Algerian revolution, they were imprisoned by Nasser, and the Cairo group took over the leadership of the "Front," which then became the "National Liberation Front." These events, which occurred at the beginning of 1955 are the origin of the FNL.

The bandwagon
The Cairo group was then joined by the following elements, in that order: the "centrists" (headed by Béji), Rabah) in July 1955; the bourgeois of the UDA (Farhat Abbas, Ahmed Francis) in April 1956; the religi-
ous leaders of the Association of the Ulemas at about the same time; then, in the course of 1956 and 1957, by various kinds of corrupt collaborators with the Government who were running out of places, Ben Bahmed Benjeddou, etc.,

Consequently, it turns out that the inner circle of what some believe to be the "decisive
organization" of the Algerian re-
olution is made up of people from the most of whom have worker and only in common: a lifelong rec-
cord of opposition to Algerian nationalism and the idea of Algerian independence.

Class issues
The paradox is only apparent: given the inescapable revolution-
ary pressure of the Algerian people, with its armed struggle as its only possible outcome, given also the outbreak of armed struggles in Tunisia and in Morocco, the Algerian bourgeoisie was com-
pelled to give up the expectation of assimilation or federal integ-
ration into the French bloc, and had to seek new ways to safeguard its class interests. Since this could no longer be done outside the framework of the struggle for national independence, the leaders of the Algerian bourgeoisie resolved to take over this strug-
gle. Since this was not possible as long as a proletarian mass-
movement was leading it, they re-
solved to smash it. Since they were too weak to do it by polit-
ical means, they were forced to do it by terror. This is the political background of the struggle be-
tween the FNL and the issues involved are class issues.

PARK
PARLIAMENT
SEAMEN and the FLAG

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